THE

DUTY

OF A

King and his People:

BEING

Two Orations of *Isocrates*;

THE ONE

Containing the DUTY of a KING;
the other containing the DUTY of
SUBJECTS.

To which is prefix'd,

The LIFE of *ISCORATES*, taken from
the best AUTHORS.

Done into *English* from the *Greek*.

Pro Rege & Republicâ.

LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBERTS, at the *Oxford-Arms*
Warwick-Lane. MDCCXXXV.
(Price Six-pence.)

®

To the Right Honourable

JOHN, Earl of *STAIR*, &c.

AND

Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Thiſtle.

My Lord,

I Beg Leave to offer to Your Lordſhip's Peruſal Two ſhort Orations of an Ancient Author. However ſeaſonable they may be at this Time, the Date will prove that they are not deſigned to favour any particular Party:

Nor would it be excuſable to put ſo Great a Name as Your Lordſhip's, before any Thing of that Nature. Such a Subject might indeed be agreeable to new Pretenders to Patriotiſm, whoſe Profeſſions are only calculated to raiſe themſelves upon the Deſtruction of their Country. But Your long and ſtedfaſt Efforts to Advance the Honour of the Nation Abroad, and to Maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown and the Privileges of the People at Home, have affixed upon Your Lordſhip the amiable Character of a Sincere Patriot, and a Father of Your Country: And we may juſtly

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ly apply to Your Lordſhip that beautiful Deſcription drawn by *Horace*,

Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum,
Non Civium Ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
Mente quatit ſolida.

I am, with the moſt profound Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Humble Servant,

James Brown.

Some Account of the

LIFE and CHARACTER OF *ISOCRATES.*

ISOCRATES, (1) the *Athenian*, was born in the 86th *Olympiad*, about 436 Years before Chriſt, while *Lyſimachus* the (2) *Myrrhinuſian* was Archon, in the 5th Year before the *Peloponneſian* War; about 22 Years after *Lyſias*, and 7 before *Plato*. His Father was one *Theodorus*, an (2) *Erchian*, or *Erechthian*, one of the meaner Citizens, and commonly reputed to have kept many Servants for making of Flutes, by which he got his Livelihood; but (3) *Philoſtratus* ſays, that tho' he bore the Name of a Maker of Flutes at *Athens*, yet he followed no ſuch Buſineſs; (2) *Theodorus* had two other Sons, *Teleſippus*

(1) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, Of Ancient Orators.
(2) *Plutarch's* Life of *Iſocrates*.
(3) *Philoſtratus's* Life of *Iſocrates*.

and *Diomneſtus*, and one Daughter, whom he educated very well, his Circumſtances being good.

When *Iſocrates* came to Man's Eſtate, having had as liberal and good an Education as any of the *Athenian* Children, he apply'd himſelf to the Study of Philoſophy, and became a Hearer of *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Gorgias* the *Leontine*, *Tiſias* the *Syracuſian*, and, as ſome ſay, of *Theramenes* the Rhetorician, who were at that Time the moſt renowned for their Wiſdom in all *Greece*.

He was once very fond of Speaking and Writing upon political Affairs; but being naturally baſhful, and having a weak Voice, he was forced to give over his Deſign of pronouncing Orations in publick. (1) However, he became an excellent Teacher of political Knowledge; and being fond of Glory, and deſirous to excel the greateſt Philoſophers of the *Grecians*, he wrote down his Thoughts: But he did not run into the common Topicks of the Sophiſts and treat of trifling Subjects; his Study was the Affairs of *Greece* aad the *Perſian* Kings, by which he propoſed to render Cities more flouriſhing, and private Men more virtuous; endeavouring always to make uſeful Knowledge the Subject of his Thoughts and Writings.

He became the moſt famous Writer of the Age, and had the Education of the chief Youths in *Athens*, and all the reſt of *Greece*; ſome of which ſignaliz'd themſelves by their Eloquence and Skill in the Law; others by their Experience in publick Affairs; and others by their Excellence in hiſtorical Writings. He taught in par-

(1) Cicero de Oratore, *Lib.* 3. *Sect.* 16.

ticular,

ticular, *Timotheus*, the Son of *Conon*; *Theopompus*, the *Chian*, *Ephorus*, the *Cumaan*; *Aſclepiades* and *Theodectes*, the *Tragedians*; *Leodamas*, the *Athenian*, and *Lacrytus*, who gave Laws to the *Athenians*; and, ſome ſay, *Hyperides* and *Iſæus*. He is reckon'd to have had above a Hundred Scholars, and his Price was a Thouſand (1) *Drachms*: (2) So that he acquir'd much greater Riches than any other Profeſſor of Philoſophy; and his School was an Epitome of the City of *Athens*, by the Languages of different Colonies.

(3) He was the firſt that made a Diſtinction between brawling and ſolid Arguments, in which he took great Pains: For, tho' at firſt he receiv'd a confuſed Way of Reaſoning from *Gorgias* and *Protagoras*, yet by applying to the ſtudy of Political and Civil Matters, (inſtead of ſubtle metaphyſical Diſputes) he acquir'd a great Knowledge in them; and theſe he preferr'd, as he imagined they taught People to counſel, ſpeak and act properly. Some are of Opinion, that he digeſted the Art of *Oratory* into a Method; others, that he inſtructed by Exerciſe only.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, in conſidering the Character of *Iſocrates*, compares him very minutely with *Lyſias*; but we muſt not dwell upon the Circumſtances of that Compariſon, nor even enter into it. It will be ſufficient to our Purpoſe to give his Character in abſtract, from the moſt conſiderable Authors.

(1) The common Drachm was worth 7*d.* 3 Farthings, and 1000 Drachms amounted to 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

(2) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, of Ancient Orators.

(3) *Plutarch*'s Life of *Iſocrates*.

Cicero

Cicero ſays,* that he cannot but give *Iſocrates* the Preference before all the Writers in his Way: Becauſe as *Thraſymachus* and *Gorgias* ſeemed too conciſe in their minute Numbers, who are however reported to be the firſt that uſed a kind of Art in joining their Words; and as *Thucydides* ſeem'd more rugged, and (to uſe the Expreſſion) not round enough, he was the firſt that fell into the Way of prolonging and filling up his Sentences with Words and ſofter Numbers; in which, by inſtructing thoſe who were the moſt eminent Speakers and Writers, his Houſe was eſteemed the School of Eloquence. And *Socrates* ſpeaks concerning him to *Phædrus* in theſe Words: *Iſocrates* is at preſent a young Man, but it is a Pleaſure to tell my Opinion about him: He ſeems to be a much greater *Genius*, than to be compared with *Lyſias*, for his Orations. Beſides, his Diſpoſition to Virtue is ſtronger; ſo that it will be no Wonder, if, when he advances in Years, he as much ſurpaſs all Men that have ever compoſed Orations, as he now does the Boys; or, if he does not ſtop here, he may aim at greater Things, by a kind of divine Impulſe of Mind; for there is a certain Philoſophy natural to the Mind of this Man. Theſe Things *Socrates* foretells of him in his Youth. But *Plato* writes thus concerning him, when he was older, he is equal in Writing to all the Orators, and is their Emulation; he admires him only. But they that do not love *Iſocrates*, may let me err with *Socrates* and *Plato*; for his Orations are of a ſweet Nature, eaſy and fluent, his Sentences keen, his Words ſo-

* Orator, *Sect.* 13.

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norous, and of the demonſtrative and perſuaſive Kind; which is very proper for Sophiſts; fitter for Pomp, than for real Pleadings dedicated to Academies and Exerciſes, but invalid and deſpiſed at the Bar.

(1) *Cicero* ſays in another Place, that the greateſt Admirers of *Iſocrates*, give this as his greateſt Commendation, that he was the firſt that added Numbers to his Proſe: For when he obſerved that Orators were heard with Reluctance, and Poets with Pleaſure, he began to introduce Numbers, which indeed ought to be uſed in Orations, as well for the Agreeableneſs of them, as to ſatisfy People with Variety.

Although this muſical Softneſs of his Works is greatly commended by ſome; yet (2) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* objects to it as too much affected.

(3) *Philip* of *Macedon* was wont to [redacted] *Demoſthenes*'s Orations to Soldiers, for [redacted]ce they carried with them; but thoſe of *Iſocrates* to Fencers, becauſe of the Theatrical Delight that accompanied them.

(2) The Stile and Structure of his Orations are excellent; his Judgment upon Things juſt; his Reaſons explained with great Clearneſs; but above all, the Uſefulneſs of his Orations and the Beauty of his Arguments are to be admired. For they are not only beneficial to Students in Rhetorick, but to Rulers of Families, Cities and

(1) Orator. *Sect.* 52.
(2) *Dionyſius Halicarnſſeus*, Of Ancient Orators.
(3) *Plutarch*'s Lives of Ten Orators, in *Demoſthenes*.

King-

Kingdoms; and contain the moſt excellent Precepts of Virtue and Morality.

His two Eſſays on Government, of which we have the Tranſlation before us, were compoſed for the Uſe of *Nicocles* King of *Cyprus*, who was ſo highly pleaſed with them, that he made *Iſocrates* a Preſent of (1) 20 *Talents*. The firſt contains Inſtructions for the Right Government of a People, and is enforced with the ſtrongeſt Reaſons and Exhortations; ſhewing the Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of Affection, Moderation and Juſtice in a Prince towards his Subjects; and of Activity in the Adminiſtration; delivered in the Perſon of *Iſocrates* to *Nicocles*.

The ſecond ſets forth the Duty of Subjects towards their Prince, ſuppoſed to be delivered to the People by *Nicocles* himſelf. The Introduction is an Encomium upon Eloquence, levelled perhaps againſt the Dulneſs, Depravity and Avarice of his own Courtiers. He then ſhews how far monarchical Governments excel popular States, and proceeds afterwards to aſſert his Title to the Throne, and in a very modeſt Manner to commend himſelf for his Juſtice, Temperance, Prudence and Clemency; on account of which he thinks that he deſerves the Affection and Imitation of his Subjects.

Theſe two Orations are interſperſed with great Variety of beautiful and uſeful Remarks. And although they were calculated for the immediate Peruſal of an Arbitrary Sovereign, yet the Subject is ſo diffuſive and general, that it extends

(1) 20 Talents of Silver, valuing the Talent at 206 *l.* 5 *s.* make 4125 *l.* and at 139 *l.* 15 *s.* make 3875 *l.*

to

to all Kinds of Civil Government. And theſe two ſmall Pieces together, ſeem to exhibit a compleat Syſtem of the Duty of a Prince and a People.

But to return to the Life of *Iſocrates*. (1) He was an utter Stranger to Oſtentation; inſomuch, that when there came at one Time three Perſons to hear him declaim, he would admit but Two, deſiring the Third to come the next Day, becauſe he thought that two were a ſufficient Audience. He uſed to ſay to his Friends, that he taught for (2) 10 *Minæ*, but that he would give any Man 10,000 that would teach him Boldneſs and a good Delivery. And being asked how he, who was not able himſelf to ſpeak, could qualify others? He anſwered, juſt like Whetſtones, which cannot cut themſelves, but yet ſharpen Knives. He never demanded Money of a Free-born Citizen, and uſed to oblige his Scholars after attending at Aſſemblies, to repeat to him what they had heard there. Being asked another time what Rhetorick was, he ſaid it was the Art of making great Things appear ſmall, and ſmall Things great. And a Father telling him one Day, that he had allowed his Son nō other Companion but one Slave; *Iſocrates* reply'd, go thy way then, for thou ſhalt have two Slaves for one.

Upon his hearing the Event of the (3) Battle of *Chæronea*, he reſolved not to ſurvive that ter-

(1) *Plutarch*'s Life of *Iſocrates*.

(2) The *Attick Mina* is eſteemed at 3 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* and Ten *Minæ* at this rate come to 34 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

(3) This Battle happened 339 Years before the Birth of Chriſt.

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rible Slaughter, nor to ſee *Greece* a fourth time reduced into Slavery, and now become the Conqueſt of *Philip*: And he thereupon cauſed his own Death by (1) faſting Four, or as others ſay, Nine Days. This happened in the 98th, 99th, or 100dth Year of his Age. He (2) lies buried with all his Family, near *Cynoſargus*, on the Hill; and upon his Grave was erected a Column thirty Cubits high, with a Mermaid upon it of ſeven Cubits, which ſerved as a Symbol of (3) his Eloquence; but this is not now in being. And there was near to it a Table, containing his favourite Poets and Inſtructors; and among the reſt *Gorgias* inſpecting a Celeſtial Globe, and *Iſocrates* ſtanding by him. And there is in *Eleuſine*, before the Porch, a brazen Statue of him, erected by *Conon*, out of Honour and Friendſhip to him. There are Sixty Orations that go by his Name; but *Dionyſius* reckons only Twenty-five of them Genuine; *Cecilius* Twenty-eight; the reſt are ſpurious.

(2) *Plutarch*'s Life of *Iſocrates*.
(1) *Dionyſius Halicarnſſeus*, Of Ancient Orators.
(3) *Philoſtratus*'s *Life* of *Iſocrates*.

ISOCRATES to NICOCLES, ON GOVERNMENT.

THOSE, *O Nicocles*, who make a Cuſtom of bringing to You, who are *Kings*, fine Garments and Curioſities of wrought Braſs or Gold, or the like valuable Things, which they themſelves want and you abound in, ſeem plainly to me not to make Preſents, but to carry on a Traffick; and they much more artfully diſpoſe of their Merchandize than profeſſed Traders. But I ſhould eſteem it the moſt excellent and moſt uſeful Gift, and the moſt proper for me to make, and you to receive, if I was able to lay down a Scheme, for determining what Inſtitutes ought to be follow'd, and what practices avoided, for the right Government of a City and Kingdom.

There are indeed many Inſtructions drawn up for the conduct of Life in private Stations,

particularly an Abſtinence from Luxury, and an honeſt and daily Endeavour to procure the Neceſſaries of Life. Every Community is govern'd by Laws ſuted to it's Conſtitution: and that Liberty of Speech which allows us to correct the Errors of our Friends, and to expoſe the Offences of our Enemies, contributes much to a good Oeconomy: and even ſeveral of the ancient Poets have left Rules for the ordering of Life. And all theſe are found to have been beneficial to Mankind.

Princes have nothing of this kind; but when they are placed upon the Throne, frequently ſpend their Time in a Neglect and Ignorance of thoſe Things, in which they ought above all others, to be inſtructed; for the Generality of Men do not diſcourſe with them upon Subjects of this Nature; but ſtudy ſuch Matters only as are agreeable to their Inclinations, and may gain to themſelves Favour. And, as upon acquiring much Wealth and great Power, they have rarely uſed thoſe Faculties to the Amendment of their Way of Life, many have been led to doubt, whether the Life of a private Perſon who lives regularly, is not rather to be deſired than that of a Prince.

When we take a ſuperficial View of Honours, Riches, and Power, we are apt to imagine, that All partake of Divinity who enjoy them; but if we conſider their Fears and Dangers, and purſue the Thought a little, we ſhall ſee ſome of them deſtroyed by thoſe who ought leaſt to have been concern'd in ſuch a Villany; others of them neceſſitated to riſe againſt their neareſt Friends; and others again obliged to ſubmit to both of theſe Evils: So that upon the whole it has been

deem'd

deem'd better to live in any Station than to have the Government of all *Aſia* under ſuch Hazards. But the Reaſon of this Diverſity and Confuſion of Opinion is, that moſt Men look upon it to be like a (1) Prieſthood, an Office fit for every Man; whereas it is the higheſt of human Undertakings, and requires the utmoſt Care and Knowledge.

It is therefore the Duty of thoſe who have the Honour always to attend you, to conſult in every Affair, according to the Occaſion, what Means are the moſt effectual to preſerve Things in the preſent good Situation, and to prevent Calamities. But I ſhall endeavour to be particular in touching on ſuch Precepts as ought to be the Aim and Guide of Life.

It is difficult from this Preamble to judge whether my Preſent, when finiſhed, will come up to the Sketch I have given of it; for many Performances, both in Verſe and Proſe, while they are in embrio, give great Expectations; but when they come to be concluded, and expoſed to the Peruſal of the Publick, are receiv'd with much leſs Applauſe, than the Author flatter'd himſelf with. 'Tis a laudable, tho' bold Enter-

(1) *Iſocrates* has here, with great Propriety, adapted a Remark to his Subject, which was peculiarly applicable to the Place of which *Nicocles* was Native and Sovereign: For the Prieſthood of the Grand Temple of *Venus* at *Paphos* in *Cyprus*, was very honourable, and endowed with exceeding great Revenues. And there was a ſignal Inſtance of this in the Caſe of *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*, to whom this Prieſthood was offered, (when he had no Hopes left of retaining his Kingdom) becauſe he could live in it in a State of Plenty and Honour. *Prideaux's Connection*, &c.

prize,

prize, to ſearch into Things which other Writers have paſs'd by, and to preſcribe Laws to Kingdoms. Thoſe who inſtruct Private Men, ſerve them only; but in exciting the Rulers of the People to Virtue, the Benefit is general, and extends to both Parties, conducing to ſtrengthen the Prince in the Throne, and to render his Government eaſier to his Subjects.

The firſt Thing then to be conſider'd is, *What is the Office of Princes*; for, if we rightly underſtand where the Head and Strength of our Subject lies, we ſhall be the better able, by keeping it in ſight, to ſpeak concerning the other Branches of it: And I take it to be univerſally granted, that it is their Duty to remove the Diſorders of the State, and to preſerve it in a good and flouriſhing Condition; and by this Principle the Occurrences of every Day are to be regulated.

'Tis indiſputable, that thoſe intruſted with the Power, and thoſe admitted into Council, ought to be Men of great Foreſight, and ſingular Prudence, and not in the leaſt given to Sloth; for we ſee by Experience, that they will take the ſame Care in the Adminiſtration that they have uſed in improving their Underſtandings. So that Wreſtlers have not ſo much Need to exerciſe their Bodies as Princes have to cultivate their Minds; for all the Praiſe that can ariſe to a Victor in the Games, bears not the leaſt Competition with the Honours that reſult from your daily Actions; and you ought therefore as much to excel the reſt of Mankind in Virtue, as you do in the Nature of your Honours. Don't think that Care is of uſe in other Things, but of no Effect towards rendring us better and wiſer; neither pronounce our Unhappineſs ſo great, as that

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when we have found out Arts to tame Animals and enlarge their Capacity, we can be of no Service to our ſelves in Vertue; for you may depend upon it, that our Minds may be greatly benefited by Inſtruction and Application.

Make choice of the moſt prudent of your Attendants to converſe with, and ſend for other valuable Men who are at a Diſtance. Don't place the moſt renown'd and moſt wiſe Poets indifferently in the ſame Claſs; be a Hearer of the One, and a Diſciple of the Other; learn to judge which is the Inferior, and hate the Bad: And by ſuch Exerciſes as theſe, you'll ſoon become the Prince that we have deſcribed, as worthy of reigning and governing a State; and you will at once ſee whether the Bad ought to govern the Good, and the Unwiſe the Prudent: and proportionably to your Contempt of the Folly of others, you will be led to employ your own Knowledge.

Hence then they ought to begin, who would perform their Duty; and, beſides this, it is neceſſary to have a Love to Mankind and to the State; for a Man cannot rightly govern Horſes, Dogs or Men, or any thing intruſted to his Management, unleſs he has an Affection for them. Make then the People your Care, and endear yourſelf to them by ruling tenderly over them; for, of all kinds of Government, thoſe are known to have ſubſiſted longeſt, that have cheriſhed the People moſt. To govern well, you are to check the Multitude in their Inſolence, and not to neglect them when they are inſulted; and you ought to ſee that the moſt Deſerving are honoured, and that the reſt are no way injur'd.

jur'd. For, theſe are the firſt and beſt Foundations of a well-order'd State.

Aboliſh or amend any Ordinances or Rules that are faulty, and take a Pleaſure in compoſing good ones, or in copying ſuch from other Nations: Select Laws that are univerſally juſt and uſeful, and that don't claſh with themſelves: let them be ſuch as will create no Diſputes, but will with the greateſt Expedition compoſe any Differences that may ariſe, for theſe are the neceſſary Qualities of good Laws. Make the Induſtry of the People advantageous, but let Law-Suits be unprofitable to them, and they will then ſhun the one and purſue the other eagerly. In deciding Controverſies, don't be leſs to paſs contradictory Sentences, but judge always alike in the ſame Caſe; for 'tis both expedient and beneficial that Princes ſhould as well be immutable in Points of Equity, as that they ſhould prefer wholſome Laws.

Govern the Republick as if it were your Paternal Eſtate, and let your Appearance be ſplendid and majeſtick, but with the greateſt Oeconomy, that you may have a good Repute, and at the ſame time be able to bear the Expence: Shew your Magnificence in nothing that is ſumptuous and not durable, but in ſuch Things as are hinted above, and in Buildings and Furniture, and in your Beneficence to your Friends; for what you lay out in this manner will ſtill remain your own, and you will thereby confer greater Advantages upon Poſterity, than by being Profuſe.

Let your Religion be the ſame that your Anceſtors profeſs'd; but you may be ſatisfy'd, that the

the moſt beautiful Sacrifice, and the moſt acceptable Service to the Gods, is that you act with ſuperlative Goodneſs and Juſtice; and there are great Hopes that ſuch Offerings will avail more than Numbers of Victims.

Shew great Honours to your Relations, but let the trueſt Reſpect be reſerved for the moſt Benevolent. Eſteem the greateſt Security of your Perſon to conſiſt in the Virtue of your Friends, in the Good-will of your Subjects, and in your own Prudence; for theſe are the beſt Means to obtain Kingdoms, and to preſerve them. Have a Regard to the Affairs of private Families, and look upon the Extravagant as Conſumers of your Treaſure, and the Induſtrious as Augmenters of it; becauſe all that belongs to private Perſons in the State, is in Effect * the Property of the King, if his Adminiſtration is upright. Be always ſo exact an Obſerver of Truth, as that your Affirmation may be of greater Credit than the Oaths of other Men; and let your City be a Place of Safety to all Strangers, as far as the Law of Nations permits. Of the People that reſort to your Court, eſteem them moſt who

* With what pathetical Arguments does *Iſocrates* lay down to Kings the Advantages of an upright Adminiſtration, by ſhewing the Benefit which muſt conſequently accrue to themſelves; and how inſeparable the Intereſt of the King and People are? No doubt but the People to whom a Prince has endear'd himſelf by his Paternal Care, will ever be willing, both for his Sake and their own, not only Voluntarily to hazard their Fortunes, but even to ſacrifice their Lives in his Defence. And it is by this indiſſoluble Tie of Affection, Gratitude and Intereſt, that a Prince may be ſaid to be entitled to whatever his Subjects poſſeſs.

don't bring Gifts, but deſerve at your Hands; for in honouring ſuch Men, your Reputation will become much greater and more univerſal.

Deliver the People from Fears, and don't ſeem terrible to the Inoffenſive; becauſe you will have the ſame Diſpoſition towards them, that you have created in them towards yourſelf. Don't be led away by inconſiderate Paſſion, rather ſmother your Diſpleaſure upon Occaſions. Let your Rigour appear in narrowly enquiring into Tranſactions that are concealed from you, and ſhew your Lenity in mitigating the Puniſhment of Offenders. And don't exerciſe your Authority in Harſhneſs or heavy Chaſtiſements, but in Superiority of Judgment, and in perſuading the People that you are the beſt Counſellor of their Safety and Welfare.

Qualify yourſelf thoroughly in Military Affairs, and be ready for War whenever it is neceſſary; but yet let your Love for Peace and Equity reſtrain you from encroaching upon your Neighbour's Property. Profeſs the ſame Reſpect to inferior Republicks, that you would deſire great ones ſhould ſhew to you. Don't contend for every thing; ſtrive only about thoſe Things that may be of uſe to you if you get the better; and don't contemn thoſe People that ſubmit when it is to their Advantage, but thoſe that conquer when it is to their own Hurt. Eſteem them Magnanimous, who don't undertake greater Things than they are able to perform, but thoſe whoſe Deſires are moderate, and who can go through with what they take in hand. Neither be emulous of Princes that make large Conqueſts, but of thoſe that govern their

preſent

preſent Dominions aright. And think yourſelf thoroughly happy, though you do not govern all Mankind, but that being what you ought to be, and acting ſuitably to your Condition, you keep your Deſires within Bounds, and do not become a Slave to Ambition.

You are not to admit every agreeable Perſon into your Friendſhip, but thoſe only who are deſerving of your Favour; neither chuſe thoſe in whoſe Company you may ſpend your time the moſt pleaſantly, but ſuch as may be of greateſt Service in the Adminiſtration. Make a ſtrict Trial of whomſoever you admit to Intimacy, becauſe other People will compare you to thoſe with whom you converſe. Take care to place proper Perſons over the Affairs which you don't tranſact yourſelf, as you know that you will receive the Blame of their Actions; and you muſt not eſteem them faithful who commend all you ſay or do, but thoſe who will point out Errors. Give to the Prudent free Liberty of Speech, that they may aſſiſt you in ſearching into thoſe Things concerning which you doubt; and be at Pains to diſtinguiſh artful Flatterers from others that reverence you in Sincerity; that the Unworthy may not be preferred before the Good.

Obſerve narrowly the Characters which Men give of one another, and conſider with what Views they are drawn; and by that Means you will know both Parties; and let the ſame Puniſhments be inflicted upon Calumniators, that are due to Criminals. Govern yourſelf no leſs than you do others; and eſteem it the moſt Princely of Virtues to ſerve no Luſt, but to command your own Deſires more than you do your Subjects. Contract no Intimacy haſtily, or to no purpoſe;

but delight in ſuch Diverſions as will improve you, and make you appear better in the Eyes of the World. Expreſs no Ambition towards Things which the Bad may arrive at; but bear a high Regard to Virtue, in which the Wicked have no ſhare. Account thoſe the trueſt Marks of Honour that are not ſhewn to you abroad out of Fear; but that when the People are alone, they admire you for your Underſtanding more than for your Fortune If you have at any time occaſion to ſeem pleaſed with little Things, let it be done in private; but let your Concern for Matters of great Conſequence be ſhewn in publick. And do not think that private Men ought to live orderly, but that Princes are exempted from all Decorum; no, let your Temperance be an Example to others, and remember that the Manners of a Nation are derived from its Magiſtrates.

And it may be a Proof to you that you have govern'd well, if your Subjects are grown richer and more induſtrious by your Care. And it is a greater Happineſs to leave ſound Glory than Riches to Children; for the one is Immortal, the other Mortal. Riches may be gained by Glory, tho' Glory cannot be purchaſed by Riches; and Riches are common to the baſeſt of Men; but it is by Virtue alone that Glory can be acquired.

Be elegant in your Apparel, and in the Ornaments of your Body; and perform all Offices with indefatigable Application, as becomes Kings; that all who ſee you, may from your Appearance judge you worthy of the Sovereignty; and that all, who have the Honour to converſe with you, may concur in the ſame Opinion from the Greatneſs of your Mind.

Always

Always conſider well what you ſay and do, that you may run into as few Miſtakes as is poſſible; and it is beſt indeed to aſſign Bounds to Things; but becauſe they are not eaſily fix'd, chuſe rather to fall ſhort, than to exceed; for Moderation loſes its Beauty, if it proves ever ſo little guilty of Exceſs. Study to be courteous and grave; the one becomes you as a Prince, the other fits you for Society: But theſe are of all Points the moſt difficult; becauſe you ſee that thoſe who affect Gravity, are apt to grow cold and indifferent; and ſuch as are fond of being Affable, frequently make themſelves appear little; And it is therefore neceſſary to be nice in uſing theſe two Ingredients jointly, in order to avoid the Misfortunes attending them ſingly.

In whatever you are deſirous to have a thorough Knowledge, which it concerns Kings to be acquainted with, follow it cloſe with Practice and Directions; for Inſtructions open the Way, and Experience will render you perfect. Remark the Tranſactions and Accidents which happen to private Men, as well as to Princes; for the Remembrance of Things paſt will qualify you the better for future Occurrences.

If there are private Men who will voluntarily lay down their Lives to purchaſe Praiſe after Death; how mean muſt it ſeem in Princes, if they dare not purſue Methods by which they may obtain great Renown while they live? Let it be your Deſire to leave ſuch Statues as may rather ſerve for Monuments of your Vertue than of your Body. Make the Security of your ſelf and the City, your grand Care; but if Dangers require your Preſence, chuſe rather to die honour-

honourably, than to live inglorioufly. In all your Actions, have the Kingdom conſtantly at Heart, and be cautious to do nothing unworthy of ſo great an Honour. Do not ſuffer your Nature, at once, wholly to periſh; but, ſince you conſiſt of a Mortal Body, and an immortal Soul, endeavour to leave behind you an immortal Memory of your Soul.

Remember to make good Precepts the Subject of your Converſation, that you may accuſtom yourſelf to think on ſuch Matters as you diſcourſe about. Whatever Schemes ſeem, upon mature Deliberation, to be the beſt, put them in Execution, and imitate the Actions of thoſe whoſe Glory you admire. Whatever you recommend to your Children, condeſcend to do the ſame yourſelf. And either make uſe of theſe Precepts of ours, or ſearch out better. Do not eſteem thoſe wiſe who nicely criticiſe Trifles, but thoſe who ſpeak well upon important Subjects; neither attend to thoſe who promiſe Happineſs to others, while they themſelves are involv'd in Difficulties, but to thoſe who ſpeak Modeſtly of themſelves, and are able to converſe with Buſineſs and Men, and are not diſtracted with Changes of Life, but have learnt handſomely and moderately to bear Proſperity and Adverſity.

Do not wonder that I ſpeak of many Things in which you are already well ſkill'd; the Thought did not eſcape me; and I am thoroughly convinc'd, that in the great Multitude of Private Men and Princes, all of them have, more or leſs, ſome Knowledge of this Subject. But in theſe Orations concerning Inſtitutes, new Obſervations are not to be expected; they contain nothing ſtrange, incredible, or uncommon;

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and that Author is to be eſteem'd the beſt, who collects the greateſt Number of ſcattered Thoughts, and delivers himſelf concerning them in the cleareſt Stile. But it is likewiſe very plain to me, that tho' all Men acknowledge the perſuaſory Works of Poets, and other Writers, to be of very ſignal Uſe, yet they have no great Inclination to hear them; but are affected to them, as they are to Exhorters, whom all Praiſe, and few deſire for Companions, prefering rather the Society of ſuch as themſelves, than of thoſe who aim at their Reformation. The Poetry of *Heſiod*, *Theognis*, and *Phocylis* is an Inſtance of this; for, tho' all Men own, that they have eſtabliſhed the beſt Rules for the Conduct of Life, yet they are better pleaſed with ſpending Time about meer Trifles, than in their Precepts. And even, tho' one were to ſelect out of the beſt Authors their fineſt Sentences, upon which they have beſtow'd great Pains, the Reception would be juſt the ſame; for People are more diverted with the vileſt Comedy, than with the moſt excellent Poem.

To what Purpoſe is it then to touch upon every Circumſtance? For, if we were particularly to conſider the Nature of Men, we ſhould find few of them delighted with the moſt wholeſome Food, the fineſt Studies, the beſt Actions, or the moſt uſeful Inſtructions; but they pitch upon Pleaſures that are in themſelves utterly unprofitable, and they ſeem as it were to place the Eſſence of Patience and Induſtry in a Neglect of all Duties. How then is it poſſible to pleaſe ſuch Men, if we admoniſh, teach, or ſay any Thing beneficial? Beſides all this, they envy the Prudent, judge the Candid to be void of

Senſe,

Senſe, and are ſo much averſe to the Truth of Things, that they are even ignorant of their own Affairs, and can't bear to think of them; but it is their Delight to diſcourſe about other People's Buſineſs; and they would rather undergo an ill State of Body, than put their Mind to the Trouble of conſidering Things of Conſequence. In their Converſation you find them full of Reproaches towards one another; and in their Retirement they give themſelves up to Wiſhing, not to Meditation. I don't ſay this of all Men: I refer only to thoſe of a vicious Taſte. So that it is certain, that in compoſing or writing any thing agreeable to the Multitude, it is neceſſary to pitch upon ſuch Subjects as are not moſt uſeful, but moſt fabulous; becauſe they willingly liſten to ſuch; and it is a Pain to them to hear real Conteſts and Arguments. And on this Account, the Poems of *Homer*, and the Inventors of Tragedy are to be wonder'd at; for thoſe Authors have miſus'd their Knowledge of the Nature of Mankind in compoſing their Pieces. The former wrote the Fables of the Strifes and Battles of the Gods; and the others brought them upon the Stage to be acted: ſo that they are now not only to be heard, but to be ſeen by us. From which Example, it is plain, that in order to gain the Favour of Hearers, Admonitions and Advice muſt be avoided; and we muſt now only write and read ſuch Things as we ſee the People diverted with.

I have gone through theſe Particulars, thinking that you ought (as you are not one of the Multitude, but their King) not to have the ſame Sentimenrs with others, nor to judge of the Importance of Things, or of the Prudence of

Men,

Men, by the Pleaſure they can afford; but to place the higheſt Proof of their Goodneſs in their Actions, particularly as Philoſophers diſagree about the Exerciſes of the Mind: For ſome pretend to improve their Hearers by Logical Diſputations, ſome by Political Eloquence, and others propoſe different Methods. But all allow, that a Man rightly inſtructed will be able to draw Advice from each of theſe; and he ought therefore to lay aſide all diſputed Points, and acquaint himſelf with thoſe Things that meet with univerſal Aſſent. He is greatly to regard ſuch Men as can furniſh him with Advice upon different Occaſions, and to reject thoſe who dwell barely upon Facts, and are utterly ignorant of what ought to be done. For it is manifeſt, that as they can be of no Service to themſelves, neither can they make others wiſer.

Make much of Men of extraordinary Judgment and Foreſight, knowing that a good Counſellor is the moſt uſeful and moſt Princely Poſſeſſion; and believe that they will enlarge your Kingdom the moſt, who can be of greateſt Benefit to your Mind.

I, for my Part, have given you all the Admonitions that I can recollect; and I have the greateſt Reſpect for you in Nature. And let it now be your Will, that others (as I ſaid in the Beginning) do not bring to you the uſual Gifts, which you buy at a much dearer Rate from the Donors, than from the Sellers; but let them bring ſuch Preſents, as will not by ever ſo conſtant Uſe be impair'd, but will on the contrary grow greater and more valuable.

NICOCLES,

[To his Subjects the *Cyprians*, concerning their Duty.]

THERE are ſome who think unfavourably of Rhetorick, and therefore find Fault with Philoſophers, alledging that it is not out of Virtue, but out of Intereſt that they make their Diſquiſitions. But I would gladly ask thoſe *Gentlemen*, why they fly from ſuch Men as are deſirous of ſpeaking well, and yet commend ſuch as ſtudy to act aright: For, if it is a Suſpicion of Avarice that ſtaggers them, we ſhall find that more and greater Gains are made by Actions than by Words. And they are under another Piece of Abſurdity at the ſame time, of which they are not ſenſible; for we with great Devotion adore the Gods, exerciſe Juſtice, and ſtudy all other Virtues, not that we may live to ourſelves, but that we may ſpend our Lives in a greater Variety of good Works. It is therefore wrong to blame the Means which clear the Way to Virtue, when the Fault lies in the Perſons, who either err in their Actions, or uſe fallacious Arguments and indirect Practices.

And

And I wonder that Men of this Opinion do not ſpeak againſt Riches, Strength and Bravery. If they are diſguſted at Eloquence, becauſe of the Deceit and Falſhood of ſome few, they ought by the ſame Rule to condemn every other kind of Goodneſs; for there will always be ſome who will convert their Knowledge and Power to ill Uſes. But it is not reaſonable to exclaim againſt Strength, tho' ſome beat thoſe that they meet, nor to curſe Bravery becauſe of Murderers; nor altogether to transfer the Wickedneſs of Men to the Things. But ſuch are to be blam'd as make an ill Uſe of good Faculties, and endeavour to employ thoſe Means to the Prejudice of their Fellow-Citizens, by which they might benefit them.

Now ſome People are without Diſtinction averſe to all kinds of Eloquence, and are ſo deeply in an Error, that they do not perceive themſelves to be Enemies to the Thing, which is above all others the Cauſe of the greateſt Advantages to human Nature. For in other Things we do not at all excel the Beaſts: We are much inferior to them in Swiftneſs and Strength, and other Faculties. But by our having an innate Power of perſuading, and of revealing our Thoughts to one another, we have not only left off the Savage kind of Life, but upon joining together, we have peopled Cities, founded Laws and invented Arts; and it is to the Art of Speaking chiefly that all our Inventions are owing: it is this that has given the Definition of Juſtice and Injuſtice, of baſe and good Actions; without which Determinations we could not have liv'd together. It is from hence we draw our Convictions againſt bad Men and our Encomiums on the

Good. It is by this we inſtruct the Simple and prove the Prudent. For to ſpeak as is becoming, is univerſally allowed to be the greateſt Token of true Judgment, as Truth and Equity are the Image of an honeſt and faithful Mind; and theſe are the Means by which we ſtruggle with Doubts and ſearch into Things unknown. The ſame Arguments which we uſe to perſuade with, ſerve us in our Thoughts about our own Affairs. And we call thoſe Eloquent, who are able to ſpeak well to the Multitude; and we eſteem thoſe prudent who can beſt argue with themſelves concerning Things.

But to be brief, upon this Endowment, we ſhall find that nothing can be performed prudently without Words, which are the Guide of all Works and Thoughts; and they are the wiſeſt that make moſt uſe of them. So that they who dare ſpeak impiouſly of Inſtructors and Philoſophers are no leſs to be deteſted than thoſe who violate the Temples of the Gods.

I cannot for my Part but approve of all Orations, of however little Service they may be to us; but I judge thoſe to be moſt proper and moſt uſeful for Kings, and moſt fit for me that recommend good Inſtitutes and Polity. And of theſe I prefer ſuch as teach Princes how to treat the Multitude, and the People how to behave towards their Sovereign; for theſe I conceive are the beſt Rules to make Cities happy and great.

You have heard then already, in the other Eſſay, the Opinion of *Iſocrates* upon the Method of Governing; and I ſhall now endeavour in this to go through the Duty of Subjects; not out of a Notion of excelling him, but as I ought chiefly to diſcourſe to you upon this Head. For if I

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do not explain to you what I would have you to do, and you ſhould err from my Opinion, I cannot in Reaſon be angry with you. But if you will act quite contrary to my Inſtructions when you have heard them, I may then very juſtly blame you. But I think the beſt way of influencing you and inculcating the Remembrance of what I ſay, and a Compliance with it, is not barely to dwell upon Admonitions and leave you a Liſt of them; but at the ſame time to ſhew you firſt that the preſent Form of Government is worthy of Eſteem, not only becauſe it is neceſſary, and becauſe it has been always uſed by us, but even becauſe it is the beſt of all Conſtitutions. And in the next Place, becauſe I do not hold it contrary to Law, or againſt the Right of another; but holily and juſtly, and from its very Foundation by the Right of my Forefathers, my Father and myſelf. And when I have made this to appear, every one muſt confeſs him worthy of the ſevereſt Puniſhment who does not obey my Councils and Commands.

As to Governments then, (which is the Subject I propoſed to begin with) I am of Opinion that it ſeems hard to all Men, that the Good and the Bad ſhould be held in equal Eſteem; but that it is moſt reaſonable that a Difference ſhould be made, and that they ſhould not be treated alike; but that every one ought to be advanced and honoured according to his Merit.

In Oligarchies and Democracies they ſtudy to keep up an Equality among all the Partners of the Government; and it is well with them, they think, when no one has a greater Power than another; which is a great Advantage to the Bad. But Monarchies beſtow the greateſt Share on the

moſt

moſt Meritorious; and ſo on to all, according to the Degrees of their Deſerts. And if this Method is not every where followed, it is however what is deſigned. And if you were to look into the Tempers and Actions of Men, you would find them all concur in allowing the Preference to Monarchical Governments. And would not every Man in his Senſes, rather be a Member of ſuch a State, in which the worthy Man is not carried off in the Multitude undiſtinguiſhed and unknown? And you will certainly think this as much milder and more reaſonable, as it is eaſier to bring one's Mind to the Will of one Man, than to ſtudy to pleaſe various and capricious Tempers.

Many others Reaſons might be brought to ſhew the Excellencies of this Conſtitution; but theſe alone are ſufficient to evince it. And if we will but carefully make a candid Compariſon, we ſhall eaſily ſee, that Monarchies excel other Governments in their Deliberations and Tranſactions of the Affairs of the greateſt Importance. Annual Magiſtrates return to their private Stations, before they have acquired a Right Notion of the Publick Affairs, and have had any Experience in them; but thoſe who are continually engaged in the ſame Things, even though they are not the brighteſt Men, yet by Dint of Practice muſt have the Preheminence. Beſides, where there is a joint Care, there are many Omiſſions which ariſe from the Dependence each makes upon the other; whereas when the Concern devolves ſolely upon one Man, he will neglect nothing, as he knows that the whole muſt be done by himſelf.

To this may be added, that in Commonwealths the Leaders by their ambitious Diſſentions prejudice the Affairs of the Publick. But in Monarchies, the Princes having none to excite their Envy, make it their ſtudy to act in all Things for the beſt. Again, the one are always backward in Buſineſs, the greateſt part of their Time being ſpent upon their private Affairs; and when they enter into Council, you will often find them diſputing about Trifles, inſtead of attending to the publick Weal. The others are not limited to Courts and Hours, but being Intent upon Things Night and Day, do not let Opportunities ſlip, but execute every Thing in its proper Seaſon. And as the former have frequently an ill Will at one another, it is a Pleaſure to them that their Predeceſſors and Succeſſors in the Government rule in the moſt infamous Manner, that they may receive the greater Glory themſelves.

But thoſe who are all their Lives at the head of Affairs, always bear the ſame good Diſpoſition to the State. But the ſtrongeſt Reaſon of all is, that ſome act in the publick Affairs, as if they were their own; others treat them with Indifference, as if they had no Concern in them. Some make uſe of the Advice of the moſt profligate of the People, and others are at Pains to chuſe the moſt prudent for Counſellors. Some eſteem ſuch as can ſpeak to the Multitude; others ſuch as can act with Judgment. But it is not only in the daily Circle of Affairs that Princes excel; they ought likewiſe to underſtand the whole Military Art in all its Branches. And Monarchies are much more capable than any Commonwealths to raiſe Forces and to uſe them;

them; to lie ſtill at one time, and to appear at at another; to perſuade or compel, according to the Occaſion; and to make Largeſſes to ſome, and to bring in others by different Meaſures. And this is not to be proved by Action only, but alſo by Words. For we all know, that the Power of the *Perſians* roſe to ſo great a Height, not by the Valour of the Men, but by their extraordinary Obſervance of their Kings. And the ſame may be ſaid of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, who when beſieged in his own City, and all the reſt of *Sicily* was vanquiſhed, yet did not only deliver it from impending Deſtruction, but made it the very greateſt of the *Grecian* Cities. So the *Chalcedonians* and *Lacedæmonians*,* who are under the beſt Form of Government of all the *Grecians*, are governed at home by an Obligarchy, but in time of War chuſe a Sovereign. And it can be made to appear, that the City of *Athens*, which is the moſt averſe of any to a Monarchical Government, is always unfortunate when it ſends out many Generals; but when the War is managed by one, the Dangers are the ſooner diſſipated. And can the Excellencies of Monarchies be more

* It was the Cuſtom of the *Spartans* to dignify Two Perſons at a time with the Name of *King*; tho' in effect neither of them had much of the Power. Theſe Two were always to be of the two eminent Families of *Prochus* and *Euryſthenes*, formerly Kings of *Sparta*; who were both deſcended from *Hercules*, and derived their Titles from him. The Executive Power was devolved upon the *Ephori*; but the Power of Peace and War, and the Care of the Religious Rights, were repoſed in the Kings. *Corn. Nepos*'s Life of *Ageſilaus*. *Ariſt. Pol. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 10.

Authors diſagree concerning the exact Provinces of the *Ephori* and *Kings*.

evi-

evidently proved, than by ſuch Examples as theſe?

Thoſe who are under a fixed Monarchy, ſeem in all reſpects to have the greateſt Power; and thoſe who are under a good Oligarchy, commonly, upon important Occaſions, either conſtitute one General only, or elſe make him King and Lord of the Army. Thoſe who hate Monarchies, when they ſend out many Leaders, never perform Things right. And ſpeaking of Antiquity, it is ſaid that the Gods have *Jupiter* for their King. If this Tenet is true, it is plain that they give the Preference to this State. And if no one knows the Certainty of this, but we take it for granted to be ſo, it is a tacit Proof that we have all the higheſt Eſteem for Monarchy. For we ſhould not ſay that the Gods obſerved ſuch a Government, if we did not think it more excellent than all others. How far then Governments excel one another, cannot be fairly aſcertained; nor ſhall I enlarge upon the Subject at preſent, as what I have already ſaid is ſufficient on the Occaſion.

As to our Right of Succeſſion, I ſhall likewiſe be very brief upon that, as it is an undiſputed Point. For who does not know that † *Teucer*, the

† *Teucer* A. C. 985. being driven from home by his Father *Telamon*, whom he had offended, built the City of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*. which he named after the Iſland and City in which his Father reigned. The Modern Name of this City is *Conſtantia*. The Deſcendents of *Teucer* remained in the Poſſeſſion of this Iſland, till an ungrateful *Phœnician* Outlaw, violating the Laws of Hoſpitality, ſeized the Kingdom and bronght it under Subjection to the *Perſians*. *Iſocratis Evagoras*. About 570 Years before Chriſt, the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Cyprus*, and in about 388 *Evagoras* regained it. In 374 *Nicocles* received the Crown upon the Death of his Father *Evagoras*, and reigned till 312, at which Time *Ptolemy Soter* conquered the Iſland.

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firſt of our Family, taking with him the Leaders of ſeveral People, ſailed hither, built a City, and divided the Land among them? And that my Father *Evagoras*, with great Difficulty and Danger recovered the Kingdom after it had been loſt by others; and brought it to this Length, that the *Phœnicians* no longer rule over the *Salaminians*; but they, as it was originally, govern themſelves.

It remains now, according to my Propoſal, that I ſhould ſay ſomething concerning myſelf, that you may know that your King is ſuch a Perſon as does not claim Honour on the account of his Predeceſſors only, but for his own Perſonal Merits. For I believe that all Men are ready to own, that Temperance and Juſtice are the two greateſt Virtues, as they do not only benefit us in themſelves; but as if we will be at the Pains to conſider the Nature, Effect and Uſe of Things, we ſhall find that whatever is not influenced by one of theſe Qualities, proves the Cauſe of the greateſt Evils. But Acts guided by Temperance and Juſtice, are highly profitable in Life.

If any of the Ancients have been renowned for theſe Virtues, I cannot but think myſelf entitled to a Share in the ſame Glory. And indeed you will be moſt ſenſible of my Juſtice in this, that when I entered upon the Government, I found the Palace ſtripped, the Treaſury exhauſted, and all Things in Confuſion, and requiring the greateſt Application, Caution and Expence to retrieve them. I know that when Things are in ſuch a Plight, others would uſe all Means to make good their own private Affairs, and are obliged to do many Things contrary to their Inclinations: But I have not been tainted with any of theſe Motives. I have

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taken ſo religious a Care, that I have omitted nothing that could be done for the Advantage of the City. And I have treated the People with ſo great Lenity, that in all my Reign there have been no Baniſhments, no Executions, no Confiſcations, nor any other Misfortune of this Nature. When we had no Entrance into *Greece* by reaſon of the late War; and were ravaged on all ſides, I found Means to remove the Chief of theſe Hardſhips and Loſſes; to ſome I paid the Whole, to others Part; of ſome I procured Time, and with others I reconciled our Diffetences as well as I could. And afterwards, while the Inhabitants of our Iſland were ſtill diſaffected to us, and the King of *Perſia*, though outwardly reconciled, ſtill bore us a Grudge, I mollified both of theſe; the One by an exact Obſervance of Juſtice, the Other by a chearful Obedience.

So great a Regard have I for the Proſperity of other Men, that I do not as others, who have a little more Strength than their Neighbours, cut off their Land and make an Acquiſition of it. I even would not ſo much as accept of that Diſtrict which was offered to me. I would much rather enjoy my own with Juſtice, than poſſeſs a far greater Kingdom by Acts of Violence. But to what Purpoſe is it to ſpend Time in a Detail of Particulars, when I can in a few Words relate all that is neceſſary concerning myſelf? For it will appear, that I have never injured any Man; that I have benefited both our Countrymen and the reſt of the *Greeks*; and that I have beſtowed greater Gifts upon them, than all the Kings together who have reigned before me.

And

And it behoves thoſe who have a true Regard to Juſtice, and profeſs a Contempt of Wealth, to have ſuch Commendations as theſe to give of themſelves. As to my Temperance, I have many other ſingular Circumſtances to hint concerning it; for, knowing that all Men have a moſt cordial Affection for their Children and Wives; that they conceive the greateſt Indignation againſt thoſe who offer any Violence to them; that Injuries of this Nature produce the heavieſt Calamities; and that many, both Private Men and Princes, have been deſtroyed on this Account; I have been ſo cautious to avoid all Offence of this kind, that I have never been known to touch any Woman, except my own Wife; though I am not at the ſame time ignorant that thoſe receive the common Applauſe, who act juſtly towards the People, and ſupply their Pleaſures from elſewhere. But I have been deſirous, not only to remove ſuch Suſpicions, but likewiſe be an Example to the People; being ſenſible that they are fond of ſpending their Time in the ſame Employments with their Princes. And it is my Opinion, that Kings ought to be as much better than private Perſons, as they are ſuperior to them in Honours; and that they act prepoſterouſly who would oblige other Men to live modeſtly, and yet will not live themſelves more temperately, than thoſe whom they command. Beſides, I have ſeen many People command themſelves in other Things, but the very beſt fall Captives to the Power of Love.

I was willing in this to ſhew my Continence, that I do not only excel the Vulgar, but even thoſe that value themſelves upon their Virtue.

And

And I cannot but condemn thoſe who taking Wives, enter into communion with them for Life; and growing afterwards diſſatisfied with what they have done, vex the poor Women with their Pleaſures; and yet cannot bear the leaſt Offence from them. And theſe ſame Men in all reſpects act unblameably, except in this Crime againſt their Wives, which they ought more carefully to ſhun than any other, as it is of the neareſt concern: For they do not perceive that by ſuch Breaches they ſow Factions and Diſcords in Kingdoms.

And it is the Office of good Kings, not only to cheriſh Concord in the Cities, over which they Rule, but even in their own Houſes, and the Places of their Reſidence; as all theſe are Acts of Temperance and Juſtice.

I have not followed the common Maxim of Kings in the procreation of Children by Women of all Ranks; not thinking it proper to leave a mixture of natural and legitimate Children, but that all ought to be of the ſame Race, and refer both by Father and Mother to my Father *Evagoras* among Mortals; to * *Æacides* among the *Demi-Gods*, and to *Jupiter* among the Gods: And that none Born of me, ſhould be a diſgrace to this Noble Family.

Of the many Reaſons that induced me to the regard of theſe Inſtitutes, it was not one of the leaſt that I ſaw many bad Men endued with Valour, Subtlety, and other laudable Qualities: But that Temperance and Juſtice were reſerved for the Good and Upright alone. And I therefore concluded that it was moſt Honourable to

* *Æacides* was a Name given to *Achilles*, from his being the Grandſon of *Æacus*.

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paſs by the former, and to acquire thoſe Virtues of which the Bad do not partake, and which are the moſt Genuine, the moſt Laſting, the moſt Noble, and the moſt Praiſe-worthy. And I have preferred ſuch Pleaſures, as in the Purſuit were not barren of Honour, but were in themſelves commendable.

And there are certain Trials by which Virtues are to be proved, they not being all of the ſame Species: Honeſty is to be proved by Poverty, Modeſty by retaining it in Power, and Continence by Youth. And I have approved myſelf in all theſe Conditions; for being left without Money, I behaved myſelf in ſuch a Manner as occaſioned no Complaints among the People; and upon receiving Authority I acted more modeſtly than Private Men; and I did both theſe at an Age in which moſt People fall into Errors.

I ſhould perhaps have been loth to ſpeak thus freely to others, concerning myſelf: Not that I am not proud of what I have done, but for fear all I ſay ſhould not be credited; but you yourſelves are Witneſſes of the Truth of all I advance.

Thoſe who are naturally well inclined, are certainly to be commended and admired; but thoſe are more to be praiſed, who are likewiſe ſo inclined by Force of Reaſon; for thoſe who are temperate by Chance. and not by Principle, may be diſſuaded from their good Method; whereas thoſe, who beſides being ſo by Nature, are convinced that the greateſt Good conſiſts in Virtue, will doubtleſs perſevere in it all their Lives.

I have ſpoke largely concerning myſelf and other Matters, on purpoſe that I might leave you no Excuſe for not being ready to obey my Commands; and I would therefore have each of you

you in his Office to act carefully and faithfully; for in which ſoever of theſe Points he is deficient, his Actions muſt be the worſe. Do not then neglect or deſpiſe any Commands, preſuming that they are not material in themſelves; for you may depend that the Whole will be, according to the Parts, which conſtitute it, good or bad.

Take no leſs Care of mine than of your own Concerns, and do not think it an inſignificant Honour to preſide well over my Affairs. Abſtain from the Property of other Men that you may the more ſecurely enjoy your own Poſſeſſion; and you ought to be the ſame towards others, that you require me to be towards you.

Do not make more haſte to grow Rich, than to have a good Reputation; remembring that of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, none enjoy greater Glory than thoſe who are renowned for their Virtue. Lay it down for a Rule that unjuſt Gains do not increaſe Wealth, but bring Dangers. Neither think it a Profit to receive, or a Loſs to pay out; for neither of theſe produce the ſame effect always; but either of them may at times be done with an honourable View, and prove beneficial. Do not take a Diſlike to any of my Commands, for the more ſerviceable any of you are to me, ſo much the more they benefit their own private Affairs.

Whatſoever is known to any of you in common, do not think that it lies hid from me. But, though I am not perſonally preſent, yet know that my Thoughts extend to all Things that are done. And if you maintain this Notion, you will act the more modeſtly upon every Occaſion. Conceal nothing, neither your Poſſeſſions, your Actions, nor your Deſigns, remembring that Secrets create many Dangers and Apprehenſions.

Do not ſtudy to act in the Adminiſtration with great Subtlety, or with Secrecy; but ſo ſimply and openly that no one, would he ever ſo fain, can object to your Conduct with Reaſon. Examine Actions, and eſteem ſuch bad as are endeavoured to be concealed from me; and thoſe good with which I am acquainted: For this will be a motive to raiſe my Opinion of you. Do not be ſilent if you ſee any entring into evil Meaſures againſt my Government, but oppoſe them; and hold thoſe that conceal them equally guilty with the Offenders. Neither account thoſe fortunate who keep their ill deſigns private, but thoſe that never offend: for it is but reaſonable that ſome ſhould ſuffer for their Tranſgreſſions, and others be rewarded for their good Deeds.

Do not enter into Societies or Cabals without my Approval; for though ſuch Meetings may be very beneficial in popular States, yet in Monarchies they are Dangerous. And be cautious not only to refrain from the commiſſion of Crimes, but even to avoid all concern in ſuch Things, as muſt be attended with ſuſpicion. Eſteem my Friendſhip the moſt ſafe and moſt certain preſervative; and keep Things in the preſent good ſituation, without deſiring any Change; knowing that by commotions the City and every private Houſe muſt be Sufferers.

Think not that the Temper of the Prince is the only cauſe of his being ſevere or mild, but that the conduct of the People contributes to it; for many have been obliged to uſe greater rigour in Governing, on account of the misbehaviour of their Subjects, than out of inclination. Place therefore a greater confidence in your own Virtue than in my Lenity; and be aſſured that my Safe-

ty will be a Guard to you againſt Dangers; for as long as my Affairs are in good order, your own will be ſo too.

You ought to be ſubmiſſive to my Government, to continue in the ancient Cuſtoms, to maintain the royal Laws, and to make your ſelves eminent in the publick Charges of the City, and in the Execution of my Commands. Excite young Men to Virtue, not only by Admonitions, but likewiſe by ſhewing them by example what good Men ought to be. Teach your Children Subordination to the Magiſtrates, and accuſtom them to Virtue, that they may perſevere in it: For if they have learnt to obey, they will be the more capable to Govern. And by proving themſelves faithful and juſt, they may become Partakers of our Wealth; whereas if they are wicked, they will endanger their own Eſtates. Eſteem it the moſt valuable and ſureſt Treaſure that you can give to your Children, if you leave them our Good-will; and account ſuch the moſt miſerable and moſt unhappy, as are unfaithful to thoſe that confide in them: for it muſt conſequently follow that they will lead the reſt of their Lives in a continual Apprehenſion and Dread of all Men, and can as little truſt their Friends as they can their Enemies.

Do not be emulous of thoſe who have large Poſſeſſions, but of thoſe who are conſcious of no Evil: for People of ſuch a Frame of Mind may ſpend their Lives very agreeably. Neither think that Vice can be more profitable than Virtue; for that it has a much more

odious Name; and according to the Character which Things bear, ſuch judge their Nature to be. Do not envy thoſe whom I promote to the greateſt Honour; but endeavour ſtrenuouſly to equal the moſt conſpicuous in a virtuous Deportment. And judge it to be your Duty to honour thoſe whom the King honours, that I may make the like Return to you. Hold the ſame Opinion of Things in my Abſence, that you delivered concerning them in my Preſence; and ſhew your Affection to us rather in Actions than in Words.

What you take ill to have done to yourſelves, do not to others: and you ought by no means to practiſe thoſe Things againſt which you ſpeak. Expect ſuch Treatment from us, as your Sentiments of us deſerve; and do not barely praiſe the Good, but imitate them likewiſe. Eſteem what I ſay as Laws, and endeavour to acquieſce therein; knowing that thoſe who ſtudy my Will the moſt, may live according to their own Pleaſure.

The Sum of all that I have ſaid, is this, That as you would have thoſe to behave towards you, who are under your Command, juſt the ſame ought you to be under my Government. And if you act thus, to what Purpoſe is it to dwell on an Enumeration of Accidents which may chance to happen? If then I go on to act as I have hitherto done, and if your Loyalty to me continues the ſame, you will ſoon ſee your Wealth increaſe, my Dominion enlarged, and the City grow happy.

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It is therefore well worth the While to be very circumſpect, and not to fly from any Hardſhips or Dangers for the Sake of ſuch Benefits. And you have it now in your Power to obtain all this, if you will but be Faithful and Juſt.

FINIS.

It is therefore well worth the While to be very circumspect, and not to fly from any Hardships or Dangers for the Sake of fair Dealing. And you have it now in your Power to obtain all this, if you will but be faithful and just.

FINIS.